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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12]

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881 561 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who [608] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes [304] the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three [292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[8] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three [535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. [786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[8] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 • 304 A KWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiina hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing as his would-be teacher wished. [121] [861]

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right response, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have behaved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is inherent in such objects, because they have been punished for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the power to evoke feelings of fear. [192] [196]

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "infant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used in many contexts in which children are barred from doing what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the motivational power of this concept. [192] [196] [304].

412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is
584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the
initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does
not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).
848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One
847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal
845 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
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611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[532] minjeme or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
[534] the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Owiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Owiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Owiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Owiyap must have know his intentions. When Owiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[804] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, butthat he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Hongwan).

Some examples of cicitrisation around a woman's navel

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Cicatrization symbolic of manhood

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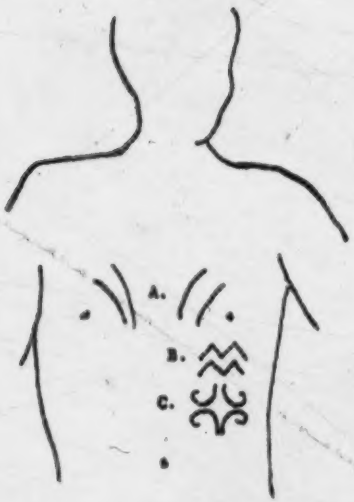

A. nákwe

B. wínɨ́

C. kwayɨ́ nbankɨ́